pull the net. When the fish are emptied from the net those who helped receive small shares of the catch. Vendors come with gubang and other foods to sell to the crowd or barter for fish; the people often eat their fish at the beach. The whole affair becomes an impromptu picnic with eating, drinking and swimming.

A few women in Siaton poblacion weave abaca for fish netting. However, most abaca material used to make nets is woven in Dauin and Bacong municipalities; more abaca is grown here and the women have a reputation for weaving. I saw far more looms in Dauin and Bacong poblaciones than in Siaton. The material is sold in rolls forty to fifty feet long and thirty-five to forty inches wide; one roll is often sold to Siaton fishermen for two or three dollars.[63]

Lava Net

The lava is a circular twine net with many small lead sinkers attached to the outer edge.[64] Only one man in Barrio Caticugan owned a lava with a diameter of 11 feet. The lava, however, is rarely used in Siaton; only two were seen in the fishing sitio of Malabuhan. It is

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[63] One woman in Siaton poblacion sold three rolls of abaca (30 inches in width) for $9 to a Chinese store. The fiber cost $3. She estimated that it took her 60 hours to weave the three rolls so she made about 10 cents an hour. Another woman said she could weave 48 feet of abaca daily if the loom were loaded.

[64] De la Victoria, op. cit., p. 46, describes the identical net used in Cebu and also called lava. Lava is a general term for cast net: dala (Tag.), tabukol (Ilk.); sabukol (Pang.). Umali, Guide to the Classification of Fishing Gear in the Philippines, p. 119.

Twine nets are repaired with a bamboo shuttle-like device called sikhohan; sikhohan are made in several different sizes. (See Plate L.)[1] In repairing twine nets all loose or "false" threads are cut; "false" threads are those that if unravelled sufficiently are not fixed to an untorn part of the net. New twine is woven into the holes with the sikhohan. Net mending is a man's job, "especially if we cannot go to the sea"; women rarely mend nets.

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Bobo Fish Traps

The bobo, a bamboo fish trap, is widely used in Siaton for obtaining pelagic fish; the trap is distributed throughout the Philippines. Victoria has written of the bobo of Cebu. He states that its fishermen bait the bobo;[68] however, Siaton bobos are not baited. Kangleon reported that Leyte fishermen put bobos in water as deep as 180 feet where they may stay for 3 months.

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[171]
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[68] De la Victoria, op. cit., p. 46. Umali calls the bobo "a fish pot" and writes that recently they have been made of chicken wire. Umali, op. cit., p. 106.

1 [this plate is missing -- Analyst]

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Nearly all cooking pottery is purchased; most of it is made in Dumaguete for none of the local womenfolk make their own pottery. In the near vicinity of Caticugan only one woman regularly made pottery that she bartered for food. Weaving of fine fabrics from banana fibers has ceased completely in the barrio; the weaving of abaca cloth is rapidly declining, though a few women still weave abaca for skirts, men's shirts, and a few other purposes. Abaca clothing, however, is quite unpopular with the younger generation and the barriofolk's style of dress is being changed by the post-war traffic in used American clothing.

Few baskets are made today in Caticugan. The winnowing basket that is used daily is normally purchased in the poblacion or in Dumaguete. I never saw a woman making such a basket, though several Naga women were said to weave them. Tin basins have taken the place of wooden basins and metal spoons and forks are rapidly replacing those made of coconut shell. The most widespread handicraft in Caticugan is the weaving of sleeping mats and bags from buri fronds; this handicraft appears to be threatened by a decrease in palms.

The decline of barrio handicrafts has been recognized by the Philippine government. School programs attempt to perpetuate and revive certain handicrafts; however, the school programs I observed do not promise to be very successful. Advice on the development or modernization of cottage industries has been given by American experts as one means of reducing the chronic

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purchased by the barriofolk in the poblacion or Dumaguete; I often saw women, sometimes from Caticugan, returning home on the bus with winnowing baskets purchased in Dumaguete. Dumaguete's public marketplace had many stores that sold this type of basket. Two women who lived in Naga were said to plait and barter niggo baskets during harvest-time but I never observed them doing so. Unlike the bukag, the niggo is made sturdily and lasts for years with proper care.

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Kalalaw are small baskets used to coil abaca thread during the weaving process. Since so few women plait in Caticugan, I never saw kalalaw being plaited. They are made, like the niggo, from thin strips of bamboo and rattan. They usually come in sets of three or four since each size is used for a specific type of abaca thread. I measured one set of kalalaw baskets; the figures are in Table XLII.

TABLE XLII

KALALAW BASKET MEASUREMENTS (Inches)

Height	Width
16-1/2	11
14-1/2	10-1/2
12-1/2	8-1/2
10-1/2	7

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ABACA WEAVING

The three major areas of hand-weaving in the Philippines are: (1) northern Luzon (Ilocos region and the Mountain Province); (2) southern Luzon (Rizal and Bicol

20: Hart E-5 (1951) 1954 OA1 Philippines OA1
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regions); and (3) the Visayas, i.e., Panay, Bohol and Cebu islands. While weaving is done in other parts of the archipelago, these three areas contain the majority of weavers and produce most of the woven fabrics of the Philippines. After the last war the weaving industry in the Philippines was rapidly declining due to the destruction of looms during the occupation, high costs of materials, influx of inexpensive cotton material from abroad, and obsolete designs, and inconsistencies in size and quality of locally produced fabrics.[9]

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CB 286 [101]

Caticugan (and Negros Island) is not representative of any one of these three major Philippine weaving areas. Only a few older women weave abaca cloth in Caticugan.[10] There were ten looms in Caticugan (two were broken)--or about one loom to every twelve families. Not all of these looms were used in 1951. I estimate that of the eight workable looms only four or five were used, at one time or another, during my residence; no loom was in constant use by its owner during this year. The probable disappearance of weaving in Caticugan in the future encouraged me to spend more time in studying the technique than would have been merited by its importance in the community's economy.

CB [178 121]

The barrio loom (halablan) is made of bamboo except for the wooden beam and cloth rollers (likisan) and base

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[9] Lysbeth Wallace, Hand-Weaving in the Philippines. United Nations Publication, Sales Number: 1954.II.H.3., ST/TAA/K/Philippines/3, December 21, 1953, p. 2.

[10] Abaca is better known as Manila hemp (Musa textilis). Bark cloth is not made by the barriofolk of Caticugan, although cloth from the bark of the talobang tree is made by the Magahats. Oracion, op. cit., pp. 31-2.

supports. (See Plate LXXII, 4 and 22.)[1] Unlike the looms in Ilocos that are built underneath the house, using the upright beams supporting the dwelling for part of the loom structure, Caticugan looms are kept inside the dwelling. The loom is a Malayan horizontal type with two foot treadles that manipulate two cord heddles for speedy intercalation of the spool shuttle.[11] The weaving product is a coarsely-woven stiff fabric called abaca (Cebuano: hinabol).

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Nearly all women who wove abaca said they learned the technique from their mothers; one informant said she was taught by her father who had learned from his mother. A few men were said to weave, although no men living in Caticugan did so.

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[H/62]

Stripping the fibers from the abaca plant and building the loom are a man's work, whereas the processing of the fiber, weaving and the final preparation of the cloth are a woman's work. Several older women in Caticugan were able to weave when they were in their early teens. There was one abandoned loom in Caticugan that the owner said was smaller than the normal loom; it had been used by a mother to teach the girl to weave. Normally, however a girl learns to weave on the regular-size loom.

No abaca is grown in Caticugan so the fibers must be purchased from abaca-growing communities. This may be a minor factor in the decline of weaving in Caticugan.

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[11] On this matter see the articles by H. Ling Roth, "Studies in Primitive Looms, Part III: 6. Indonesian Looms," The Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland, XLVII, 1917, pp. 323-66.

1 [See p.710, cat. 286--Analyst]

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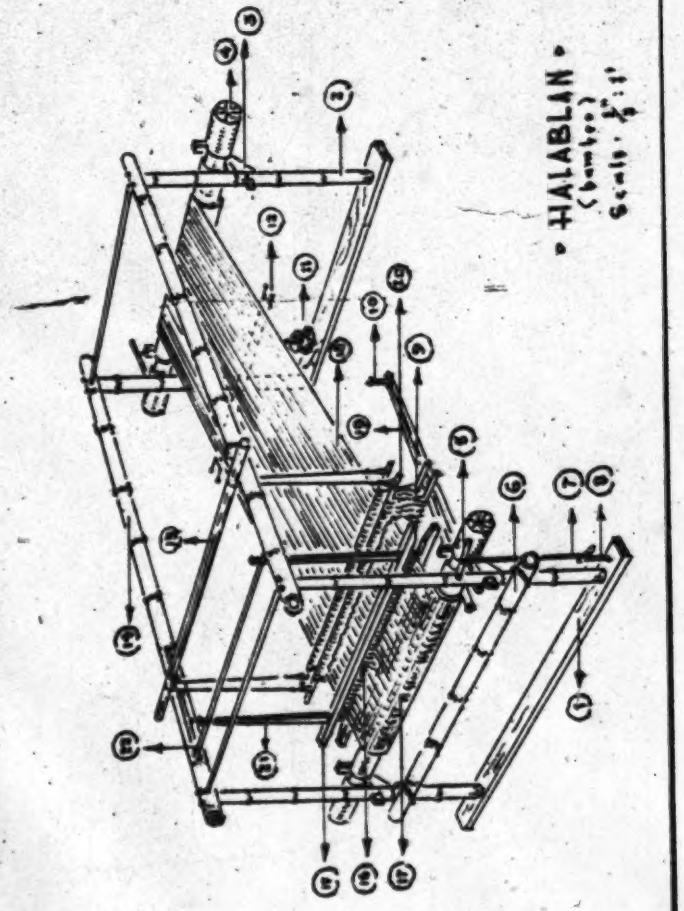
LEGEND
1. Sapaw
2. Patindok
3. Kayo
4. Hiligan (yarn or beam roller)
5. Batangan (seat
6. Lubid
7. Pasir
8. Lagbon (cord he
9. Pasak
10. Bato (stone weight)
11. Lagologo (shed stick)
12. Hiled
13. Pitpiyan
14. Inabon (reeds
15. Solod (warp s reed spacer, batten)
16. Oasd
17. Gabiay (warp)
18. Tumbasan (tread
19. Tabog sa kagbon (heddle framework)
20. Kangsan
21. Hiligan (cloth breast beam)

Plate LXXII



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Most abaca used for weaving is bought in the northern barrios of Bantolinao and Nasig-id. Several women were furnished abaca by the owner who later received one-half of the cloth.

Fiber to be woven must be stripped from the abaca plant with special care; for example, no pulp should remain on the fiber. Often growers who sell abaca to the Chinese in Siaton poblacion purposely leave pulp on the fibers so the bundles will weigh more.

Dyes

Three vegetable dyes, tagun, taloto, and antipolo, were once used to dye colored weft thread for abaca cloth. Tagun (Indigofera suffruticosa Mill) grows wild in the nearby hills; once in the past it was cultivated as a source of black dye. Domesticated tagun, according to the barriofolk, made a better dye than the wild variety. Water was heated and tagun leaves were added; a little lime was then sprinkled into this mixture and care taken lest the water boil. "If the water boiled," one woman explained, "the dye was not any good because the leaves became tender right away." Bark of the taloto and antipolo trees was powdered to make a red dye. Red fibers were sometimes re-dyed with tagun "so they would be reddish and very shiny." Today these vegetable dyes are rarely, if ever, used. Weavers buy chemical dyes in the poblacion; a package of four different dyes costs ten cents.

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Before the last war, less frequently at present, colored cotton thread was purchased in the poblacion to weave the weft stripes into the fabric. Today, however, cotton thread is so expensive that most weavers dye abaca fibers to give the finished fabric a colored stripe. Red and blue are the favorite colors used in abaca weaving with black a poor third. Designs are alternate weft stripes of color with the natural abaca thread of the warp.

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There are four basic processes in preparing the warp for weaving. First, tog-ot, the sorting of various sizes of thread from the hanks of abaca. Second, bonos, tieing together the same size threads into one continuous thread. Third, han-ay, hand warping in preparation for loading the loom. Fourth, samod, the installation of the warp on the beam and cloth rollers. The following paragraphs describe these four processes in some detail.[12]

Tog-ot: Sizing The Abaca

After the fiber is obtained by the weaver it is put in a rice mortar and pounded "just like rice"; this process makes the thread (lanot) softer and more pliable.

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[12] Paglala is the infinitive "to weave" buri bags and mats--for all types of weaving except abaca. The infinitive for weaving abaca is paghabol. Abaca cloth is called hinabol whereas a weaver is called maghahabol. I was not able to observe all of these four processes while in Caticugan. Several times, much to my disappointment, I would arrive at a dwelling a few hours after the woman had finished han-ay or sambod. In preparing my notes on weaving, I found considerable gaps in my information that I was able to fill, in part, through correspondence with my assistant in Siaton, requesting answers to a list of written questions.

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Then the pounded thread is sorted for size, a process called tog-ot.[13] One of the first tasks taught a young girl learning to weave is to sort thread. Five different sizes of thread based on its thickness as determined by the weaver's sight and touch are sorted. These five classes of thread are, from the thickest to the thinnest, respectively: dagku; halan-ayon; okyot; katung-an; and magamaya. Halan-ayon is the most plentiful in the abaca hanks (gatang) purchased by weavers.

Bonos: Tieing

The second step, bonos, is tying the various thread sizes into one continuous thread, e.g., all dagku threads are tied together.[14] A weaver's knot (dogkong) is used to joint the individual threads. (See Plate LXXIII below.)

PLATE LXXIII

DOGKONG KNOT

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[13] In Bacong, Negros Oriental, tog-ot is begun at high tide, the belief being that this will increase the number of the fibers. Timoteo S. Oracion and Avelino T. Torres, "Some Notes on the Weaving of Abaca Cloth in Bacong, Negros Oriental, Philippines." Dumaguete, Silliman University, Negros Oriental, Philippines, 1953, p. 4. Typescript. 789

[14] In Bacong bonos is done at high tide. Kapinan shells and homemade wooden combs are placed in kalalay baskets to increase the length of abaca fibers. It may be that the purpose of the combs is to prevent the fibers from tangling. Ibid., p. 5.

Loose ends of the dogkong (A and B in Plate LXXIII) are cut after the knot is pulled together. As threads of one size are tied in long strands (linakgak) they are loosely coiled in kalalaw baskets. If the joined strands of threads are not used immediately for weaving, they are made into individual skeins, bito-ol, composed of one class of thread. The skeins are carefully wrapped and often hung in the rafters to protect them from damage by rats.

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Han-ay: Hand Warping

The third step in preparing the loom is reeling the warp to be placed between the beam and cloth roller, a process called han-ay. The next to thickest size thread, halgn-avon, is used to weave most abaca cloth made in Caticugan; this size is the most plentiful in the hanks. If halgn-avon thread is used for the warp, the weft thread is dagku, since the two threads are about the same thickness. When okyot thread is used for the warp, the same class of thread is used for the weft--which is also the case for the other sizes of threads. The reason for these choices is that the approximately same size threads for warp and weft makes a better-appearing fabric, according to the weavers, than would mixing of a large size thread (dagku) with a much smaller size (magamays).

Coiled piles of thread are taken from their kalalaw baskets and placed in individual piles on a mat on the floor of the house. A pinch of earth from the mound of the anay (termite), a busikad flower, or a kapinan

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seashell, is put under one coiled pile of thread. The purpose of these items is "to increase the thread"--a reflection of the increase magic of agricultural practices, previously discussed.[15] For example, the literal translation of kapinan is "more than." Small stones or sand are placed on top of each coiled pile of thread to prevent them from tangling as they are hand warped between two opposite poles inside the house.

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Coils of thread (linakgak) are placed on the mat in two rows. There are usually four, eight, or ten coils of thread, each coil being paired with another. If ten coils of thread are used, they are arranged in two rows, e.g.:

6 7 8 9 10

1 2 3 4 5

Spreads from coils 1-6 are drawn through a small bamboo hoop suspended above the piles of thread; threads from coils 2-7, 3-8, 4-9, 5-10, are pulled through their respective hoops, tied together, and reeled between two posts (usually house posts) at opposite ends of the room. Each post has five or six pegs arranged from top to bottom around which the threads are reeled.

The first pair of threads (i.e., 1-6) is held between the small finger and ring finger of the left hand, the second pair (2-7) between the ring finger and middle

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[15] In Bacong coconut shell charcoal, kapinan shell, and busikad grass are used. "The charcoal and grass are believed to prevent rats from gnawing the fibers." Ibid., p. 6. It might be added that busikad grass has a pungent odor.

finger, the third pair (3-8) between the middle finger and index finger, the fourth pair (4-9) between the index finger and the thumb, whereas the fifth pair (5-10) is held with the right hand. If odd numbers of coiled thread piles are used--such as 3, 5, 7, or 9 piles--then one coil does not have a mate though the others do. One woman reels the threads half-way between the two posts, passes them on to another woman, who loops them around the top peg of the opposite post, returns them half-way between the posts where her assistant takes the threads from her, and loops them around the second from top peg on her post, etc.

When the hand warping is finished, the threads are cut from the coils on the floor. Warp threads are then detached from the upper peg of the first post and rolled loosely toward the upper peg on the second post, then back toward the second peg on the first post, etc. When the reeling reaches the last peg of the second post, a stick (pablon) is inserted through small loops at the ends of the threads. Sometimes, instead of rolling warp threads off the pegs, threads are "chained"; they are usually rolled, however, for it takes less time. (See Plate LXXIV.)

PLATE LXXIV

HAN-AY CHAIN

Sambod: Loading the Loom

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The fourth and final step is loading the loom; a process called sambod. The large bundle or roll of warp thread is placed on the floor; the pablon is embedded in a groove in the rear or beam roller. (See Plate LXXII, 4.) A banana stalk with a row of pegs (about 6-7 inches high), separated about the width of one finger, is tied between the two rear uprights, patindog, of the loom. (See Plate LXXII, 2.) Threads that have been attached to the beam roller with the pablon are drawn between each peg in the banana stalk, ten threads between each peg. When all threads attached to the yarn or beam roller are distributed between the banana stalk pegs, a thin bamboo stick or string is woven between their tops, closing them.

Then the loyoloyo, or shed stick, is inserted alternately every ten threads, just below the banana stalk. (See Plate LXXII, 12.) The shed stick untangles any threads that might have snarled during the rolling of the warp threads after hand warping or as they are now rolled on the beam roller. After the threads are placed between the pegs in the banana stalk and the shed stick, the beam roller is turned one complete revolution.

Then another small banana stalk is placed on top of the threads on the beam roller; the cloth roller is taken from its usual loom position and placed upon the banana stalk. Two ropes, one each over the opposite ends of the two rollers and banana stalk, are installed, and tied to the floor. A piece of bamboo is placed between

the double strands of each rope and twisted, to increase the ropes' tension on the rollers and banana stalk. This technique puts sufficient pressure on the beam roller so that when it is rolled, the threads are evenly and tightly distributed.

The loom is now ready so the beam roller can be turned, pulling the threads from the bundle on the floor, through the shed stick and the pegs in the banana stalk around the beam roller. One woman usually turns the beam roller while an assistant gently shakes the shed stick to untangle snarled threads as they are wound. If the beam roller becomes difficult to turn, the tension of the ropes is released slightly. All warp threads are rolled on the beam roller except for the length needed to reach the cloth roller. When this is done the banana stalks and cloth roller are removed, the latter being installed in its proper place. The beam roller is secured so it cannot roll backward and the shed stick is re-inserted in front of this roller.

The round stick(pablon) of the cloth roller is tied to the loom's seat (linkoran). (See Plate LXXII, 6 and 22). Warp threads are now individually passed through the cord heddles (koghons) that are tied to the two foot treadles (tumbanan) with strong twine. (See Plate LXII, 9 and 19.) Once the threads are passed through the heddles, they are inserted in pairs between the batten's (reed spacer) dents (spaces) made by the bamboo splints (saosao or "teeth"). (See Plate LXXII, 16 and 20.) The solod is

the framework of the reed spacer. Once through the batten, threads are tied in pairs to the pablon. When all warp threads are fixed to the pablon, the stick is inserted in a groove of the cloth roller. A dried strip of banana stalk or bandan plant (Donax cannaiformis (Forest. f.) K. Schum.) is woven through the warp threads; the purpose is to make the threads nearest the cloth roller's pablon strong and firm. Now the warp, that varies from 34 to 41 inches in width, is ready for weaving.

A number of beliefs are associated with weaving abaca in Caticugan. When the warp thread is first installed on the beam roller, some weavers rub the roller with lime or ginger so "insects will not damage the threads." A piece of cotton dampened with coconut oil or a strand of hair from the weaver's head may also be placed on this roller "so the warp threads will not break easily." Some weavers put a piece of coconut-oil dampened cotton and a spider's web in the shed the first time the shuttle is pushed across the warp. The purpose of coconut oil is the same as above whereas the spider's web is inserted "because the spider starts its web one day and the next morning is finished"; others state the web is used so the woven abaca will be as smooth as the web's texture and not tear easily. Another practice is to weave into the right hand corner of the beginning of the fabric a piece of cotton and a small chicken feather soaked in

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coconut oil. The oil is said to make the abaca fabric appear shiny and the cotton and feather prevent threads from breaking frequently.[16]

The Shuttle

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The spool shuttle (lansarida) is carved from a solid piece of boat-shaped wood twelve to fourteen inches in length, about two inches in width and one inch in height. (See Plate LXXV.) A slot is carved in the shuttle's interior where the bobbin (kalanyasan) is placed. (See Plate LXXV.) The weft (kinalinyas) thread is wound around the bobbin, the latter being a piece of bamboo that revolves on small pegs in the shuttle slot. Weft thread is wound around the bobbin by a type of spinning wheel (galingan) and emerges from a small hole in the shuttle's side. Bobbins wound with weft thread may be soaked in a coconut shell of water before used; this makes the weft thread more elastic and less apt to break. The shuttle's movement across the shed is facilitated by two pairs of small bamboo rollers on its bottom.

To wind the weft thread on the hollow bobbin the latter is placed on the sambolan and the cloth-covered spinning wheel turned by hand, rotating the sambolan. (See Plate LXXV.) The size of galangans measured in Caticugan varied but usually they are about 20-28 inches long and 16-20 inches high.

16"During the weaving a few human hairs, wet in oil, are interlaced in the first weave. Their belief is that this makes the fibers strong and smooth like human hair." Ibid., p. 7.

20: Hart E-5 (1951) 1954 OA1 Philippines
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PLATE LXXVI

ABACA FABRIC TYPES

PLATE LXXVI

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PLATE LXXVI

GALINGAN FOR WEAVING

Weaving Process

Abaca cloth is woven by throwing the shuttle across the shed with the right hand and returning it with the left hand. Treadles are worked by the feet and the batten manipulated by hand. Stepping on one treadle raises a heddle (pulling up all odd or even warp threads), creating a shed for the shuttle. The warp is never made of colored threads; the fabric's design is made by alternating colored weft threads. The result is an unimaginative striped simple taffeta. Plate LXXVI, B,[1] illustrates abaca material woven for clothing purposes. The dark weft threads were dyed red. Charles Amsden has written:

> Its effect [the invention of the shuttle and its use] upon design is deadening, encouraging as it does a monotonous passing back and forth of the weft which gives at best an unimaginative pattern of plain stripes. The shuttle tends toward rapid progress in weaving but not, certainly, toward elaborate design.[17]

It is difficult to determine accurately the time it takes to weave abaca cloth in Caticugan since weavers work at irregular intervals through the day--when other household duties permit. Several informants, however, said if they worked steadily they could daily weave about five or six feet of fabric using halan-ayon thread; with smaller abaca threads twice the time was needed to weave the same amount. As the fabric is woven, the material is rolled on the cloth roller; no associated beliefs were reported when the fabric is removed from this roller.

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[17] Charles Amsden, "The Loom and Its Prototypes," American Anthropologist, XXXIV, No. 2 (April-June, 1932), pp. 216-35.

1 [See p. 721, cat. 286 -- Analyst]

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Abaca fabric for fish nets is woven on the loom already described. Fish net material is woven by a wider spacing of warp threads when put through the cord heddles and batten. When weft thread is woven, the batten is manipulated to produce the spacing of weft illustrated. (See Plate LXXVI , A and C.) Finer meshed abaca is woven by installing the warp in the same way described for weaving clothing material but the weft is not packed together as compactly. Plate LXXVI , C, shows the typical fish net, sahid, (the upper part illustrates the selvedge) whereas Plate LXXVI , A, sketches the finer mesh used for the pocket (paboto) of many fish nets. One can tell, by listening to the sound of the batten, what type of abaca material a woman is weaving.

Processing the Fabric

Abaca cloth is processed for two purposes: first, to soften the fabric and second, to increase its gloss. The cloth is sometimes soaked in lime water; the lime is made from snail or seashells. Sometimes abaca cloth is weighted down with stones in a small creek, a process called abohan. When the cloth is still damp it is folded and pounded to soften it and, particularly, increase its sheen. Then the fabric is placed on the palaknan, a small log that has been sawn and the top flattened. The cloth is then pounded vigorously with a wooden mallet (pakang). These two processes reduce the stiffness and scratchiness of the abaca fabric and also increases its

sheen; the latter is considered quite desirable. Abaca woven for fish nets is not soaked or pounded as is clothing fabric. 286

Abaca fabric woven in Caticugan was used to make shirts and short pants for boys and men, blouses and skirts for women, or blankets, mosquito netting, pillow case covers, strainers, window curtains and veils. Material used for pillow case covers and veils is woven from the finest abaca thread, magamays. The most widespread use of abaca cloth in Caticugan, however, is for clothing, especially for older women. To my knowledge no abaca was [437] woven for sale in Caticugan, although sometimes half of the fabric woven was given to the individual who furnished the abaca.

Other fibers besides abaca once were woven by some women of Caticugan. Fibers of the sab-a and San Pablo banana, maguey and lawisid (a banana-like plant) were stripped and woven into fabrics. Filipino use of banana fibers was reported by Loarca in the latter part of the 16th century.

> ...for the cloth which the natives use for their garments is made from a kind of [wild] banana. From this they make a sort of cloth resembling colored calico, which the natives call medrinaque.[18]

Maguey leaves were cut, squeezed and soaked in water until the pulp softened. The barriofolk said the retted leaves were then placed on a flat board and, holding one end of

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[18] Loarca, Blair and Robertson, op. cit., V, pp. 43-4.

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the leaves, a bowl was rolled over the pulp to free the fibers. Sab-a and San Pablo banana stalks were cut and permitted to dry for four days before decortication; the stalks had to dry or the fibers were too brittle to weave.

Sab-a, San Pablo and lawisid made a fine, silk-like fabric that was said to be "very shiny." Three sizes of threads were obtained from these plants; okyot, the largest size thread, magamays and palid, the smallest type. The loom used to weave these fibers had three heddles and treadles "so the cloth woven would be like cotton made by a machine"; otherwise, the loom was the same type used today. Weaving of the banana or lawisid fibers on a three-treadle loom was called hiringue.

The few women in Caticugan who remembered (or did) hiringue said little weaving was done during the hot season because the fine threads became dry and brittle; the best time to weave was during the rainy season. Fabric woven from the fibers of the sab-a, San Pablo and lawisid was not soaked in lime water but dampened and wound around a banana stalk. When the dry fabric was ironed it had a high gloss. No one weaves hiringue today in Caticugan; one of the most expert weavers of the barrio explained that "it takes too much time."

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This fifty-five year old woman, a resident of Naga and a noted weaver when young, said she once wove saba-a fabric with a flower design.

> There were many people who came to see me work because a man from the poblacion saw my weaving and told them that I was weaving wonderful things. So the poblacion people came. Some said: 'Oh, this is

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very nice.' But I said, 'buyag' as a precaution against an osikan. Some of the people wanted to buy the cloth. There were only two of us who wove very well in those days.[19]

From this weaver's account, it is evident that weaving fine fabrics from various banana fibers was nearly extinct twenty or thirty years ago. In "the old days," this weaver said, fabric woven by the hiringue technique sold for about thirty cents a yard. [435

The gradual disappearance of hiringue-woven fabrics was partly due to low prices; families stopped growing lawisid when the fiber's price fell. One woman's family planted lawisid several decades ago.

Sometimes I could not weave all the lawisid into cloth so we stripped and sold the fibers to the Chinese in the poblacion. From fifteen stalks of lawisid we once made $12. Six months later we stripped new plants that grew from the old ones and made $7. We finally stopped growing lawisid, however, because the price fell very low.

Woven fabrics were once bartered for food or labor. "When we had plenty of abaca cloth and my father had much work to be done," one informant explained, "we paid the workers with cloth." [437

Future of Weaving in Caticugan

A number of factors explain why little weaving is done today in Caticugan. One may predict the complete disappearance of abaca weaving for clothing fabric if these factors continue. First, the high prices of fibers [435]

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[19] An osikan is a person with an "evil eye," a Spanish importation from Europe to the Philippines. By complimenting a person an osikan is believed able to cause the victim to become ill; a protection against such a spell is to reverse the compliment by saying "buyag."

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discouraged most women who knew how to weave. Since no abaca is grown near Caticugan, it is necessary to make a long, tiring trip to the mountain saingins of the north. Weavers of Caticugan probably would have woven more if abaca had been cheaper and easier to obtain.

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Second, abaca fabric is stiff and scratchy; soaking and pounding the material helps but it remains uncomfortable to wear. Third, the younger generation, for the most part, is prejudiced against abaca clothing that they regard as a symbol of rusticity. This attitude, with improved educational facilities and increased contacts with Dumaguete, may not be expected to decline. Most young people said they were ashamed to wear abaca clothing to church or to festive events such as the fiesta. As one informant explained:

> Some people will tease you if you wear abaca clothing. 'Why are you wearing abaca? You look like the old people in the ancient times'--this is what they may say.

Only the children of the poor wore abaca clothing to school in Siaton poblacion.

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With the decline in the number of Caticugan weavers, young girls are not being taught to weave. I never saw a young woman weaving in the barrio; the weavers were always older women. Some young people said they did not wear abaca clothing because no one in their family could weave. Mothers explained their daughters were not interested in learning to weave for they preferred to wear clothing purchased in the poblacion stores. In the past a mature woman

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who could weave skillfully was a more desirable mate than one who could not. Difficulties of obtaining abaca fiber, the cost, and the tedious and time-consuming processes of preparing thread, weaving, and processing the woven fabric--plus the growing satorial sophistication of the young generation--militate against weaving in Caticugan.

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The most recent event that probably has dealt the coup de grace to any increase of abaca weaving for clothing in the future is the sale of used American clothing; the barriofolk speak of this as "relief clothing." After the last war tons of used American clothing were sent to the islands for rehabilitation purposes. Some of the clothing was sold illegally to the people and a new post-war Philippine business was born. Today used American clothing is imported regularly to the Philippines with Cebu City as a distribution center for the Visayas. Agents go to the city to buy the clothing that they later sell in rural areas through Negros.

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Every Sunday in Siaton poblacion Dumaguete vendors came to sell used American cotton and silk dresses, blouses, and children's clothing. At every fiesta I attended there were vendors who had big piles of used American clothing through which the barriofolk hunted for correct sizes. My impression was that most of the clothing was for women or children. As a result a new source of inexpensive clothing competes with abaca garments--and is modifying the barriofolks' mode of dress. T-shirts are replacing the abaca shirt of the past as cotton trousers have already done.

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In Caticugan, those who weave abaca wear it the most. Many older women still wear old style abaca wrap-around skirts (patadyong) and blouses. Older men usually wear cotton trousers but often abaca shirts. The technical assistance of cottage specialists from the United States is mainly directed toward teaching Philippine weavers to produce materials that can be used for homefurnishings, industrial purposes, or export. One American weaving expert, sent to the Philippines to offer advice in modernizing cottage industries, writes:

> I am doubtful that abaca for clothing will ever be revived again. It is slow and cumbersome to weave, and with the present minimum wage law a must, it is almost prohibitive in cost. This minimum wage law, though wonderful in principle, is still making the introduction of new fabrics somewhat difficult, as it imposes a high outlay of money during the time of education, prior to production.[20]

The use of abaca for fish nets will decrease rapidly once cheaper twine nets become easier to obtain. There may be significant increase in weaving products from the major weaving areas of the Philippines but the production will be aimed largely toward such uses as fabrics for upholstery in automobiles, place mats, drapery, bedspreads, etc. Weaving in Caticugan as a handicraft probably is beyond resuscitation.

WOODEN SADDLES

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Horses in Siaton are more numerous than is typical of most Philippine municipalities. Some ride bareback but 000

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[20] A personal letter to the writer from Mrs. Hammarstrom, November 17, 1952.